

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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THE OPPOSITION TO DIRECT LEGISLATION

DECLARED TO BE SHORT SIGHTED

The Reactionary Ideas of the Bourgeois-Socialists of England Will Never Be Triumphant in the International Socialist Movement.

"Let us go back to the fleshpots of Egypt." This was the cry of the Jews when they met with the first trials of liberty. And this is the cry of the short-sighted opponents of direct legislation now. They see that the people in their ignorance often decide wrongly the issues brought before them, and their heart at once fails them, their confidence in the people is at once destroyed. They forget all the crimes and errors committed by kings, aristocracies and representative assemblies, although every page of history fairly reeks with their crimes and deceit, and on the most insufficient evidence they reject government by the people, and approve necessarily the alternative systems, which experience proves to be so utterly corrupt. The arguments used by the opponents of direct legislation do indeed logically lead to monarchy and aristocracy. Representative democracy, not less than pure democracy, must be condemned, if the errors committed by the people are to serve as a reason for depriving them of their rights.

"The people's referendum has elected McKinley," cries Mr. Frederic Heath. "The people's referendum has supported Napoleon." If this argument proves anything, it is that the people are not fit to elect their rulers, and would seem to argue in favor of the Russian system of government, where benevolent laws prevent the "popular referendum" from committing errors.

It is really necessary at the threshold of the twentieth century to prove that the only way to learn to walk is by trying it again and again in spite of endless falls? Political wisdom can only come by experience, just as any other sort of wisdom. The people will always remain in their childhood, if others will think and act for them. Representative democracy has so utterly sunk in corruption, both here in America and in Europe, that it is imperatively necessary to have a radical change. Such a change can only be either to the right, towards direct democracy, or the left, some form of monarchy or aristocracy; to the future or the past.

The Fabian Society, indeed, warns the world against further steps in the direction of democracy. Not only do they reject the referendum and initiative, but even the election of governors and judges is abhorrent in their eyes. In short, the present system of English government seems very perfect in their eyes; nay, the only conceivable quintessence of democracy. When we remember, however, that these ideas of theirs, which they have with much parade brought forward before the last International Congress, have been practically unanimously rejected; and that the Congress has, on the contrary, decided in favor of both national and municipal direct legislation, and the election of all officers by the people; when we remember all this we need have no fear for the future of democracy; no fear that the reactionary ideas of the bourgeois Socialists of England will ever be triumphant in the Universal Socialist movement. There remains to account for the well known support which Professor Dicey and a few other Conservatives, both in England and elsewhere, give to the referendum movement. This certainly is the same thing as the support by Napoleon III. and Bismarck of universal suffrage. Certainly they hoped to exploit the ignorance of the people. But is Mr. Heath for this reason prepared to condemn universal suffrage? Logically he is bound to do so.

I quite agree with Comrade Debbs, that apart from socialism the initiative and referendum cannot satisfy us, and that socialism ought to be our supreme aim, but I cannot see the wisdom of attacking the proposals, repeatedly asserted by all the Socialist Congresses, proposals dear to the heart of every believer in popular government, and attacking them by arguments which logically can only lead to monarchy or aristocracy.

New York. S. Recher.

I am sorry to see that the referendum is in disfavor with our comrades, because just now the enemies of Socialism appear to find it a drawing card. But that the politicians are juggling with it does not prove that Socialists might not make an honest use of it to good advantage; and because a thing is not a universal panacea, it is not necessarily an evil. The referendum occupies an excellent place in our platform, the eleventh plank. Of course it ought not to stand first nor second, but to throw it

out altogether would surely be a mistake.

Let us consider some of Comrade Heath's arguments. First, he recites the bad use which Napoleon III made of the plebiscit or referendum in order to gain his own despotic ends. But does not Comrade Heath know a country, on this side of the Atlantic, where representative government is worked by the capitalist class just as successfully as the plebiscit was worked by Napoleon III? And we have only two alternatives, legislation by the people, or legislation by their representatives; for Caesarism of any sort is not to be thought of by Social Democrats. If the referendum would not help the disinherited classes, what can we say of representative government? In what country has it ever represented the working people?

It is possible that the referendum would "act as a brake." Very likely, if the American people were to vote on the Socialistic system today, they would vote it down by a tremendous majority. But if this is the case, could any body of legislative or executive experts establish the Co-operative Commonwealth and make it a success? Its very name answers the question in the negative. Without the co-operation and sympathy of the whole mass of the people, the thing would fall short. The inauguration of Socialism is a very different thing from any mere political changes, which may often be effected by political experts without much popular support. But the change to Socialism would touch every man so closely in every detail of his life that only the hearty good will and intelligent co-operation of the whole people could make it permanently possible. They only can change it from a theory into a living thing. We are not Fabians, we are Social Democrats. Perhaps the faith of the Fabians in government by experts is one cause of their estrangement from the people. Perhaps it is one cause of their smug complacency and almost childish satisfaction in the very meager results they have as yet attained. That we as a party should ever come to an end like this, may all the fates foretell!

It seems a tempting short cut to the Co-operative Commonwealth to intrust its inauguration entirely to the hands of legislative and executive experts. But perhaps this is one of the cases where the longest way round is the shortest way home. E. H. T.

Comrade Heath scores a strong point against the referendum in his article in the issue of June 24. He shows the absurdity of adopting or rejecting propositions without full education on the subject, and in so doing helps me in my opposition to the "Demands for Farmers," though he takes the other side of the question. If he will refer to my article in the issue of April 8, he will find that I said:

"I believe I am safe in saying that had the circumstances surrounding the birth of the S. D. P. been such as to have permitted a discussion of this program, it would not now be under consideration."

When he recalls the events surrounding the adoption of the platform, he must remember there was a lack of thorough discussion, which he now regards as indispensable to a right solution. This latter thought I heartily concur in, and I'm sorry to see Comrade Gordon disappear behind Edward Bellamy.

To my mind it seems logical to get those in line, who by the workings of the historic development, on which we base our position, are the first to experience the necessity of the change we work for. The others will come in due order, as the movement the world over demonstrates. Chas. R. Martin.

Tiffin, Ohio.

Alone in Politics

The Social Democratic party has determined to go its own gait. It declines to fuse with any other organization in political brotherhood. It has been decided that no candidates nominated by the local branch shall be allowed to receive an endorsement of their candidacy from any other political organization. There is of course no way to prevent a man from being popular, and if some party outside of the Social Democracy wishes to boom a candidate of the Social Democrats there is nothing to prevent them from doing it. The candidate, however, will, we suppose, have to decline to formally accept and acknowledge the favor of the party outside of his own in deciding that he is good enough for them.

The Social Democrats are surely independent people, and are bound to run along paths blazed out by themselves. Others may follow, but may not lead, and may not even go down the misty vista of politics hand in hand with the social brethren.—Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise.

Mayor Chase, of Haverhill, is making good use of the bicycle to reach meetings in his district.

WHAT A SOCIALIST GOVERNOR COULD DO

TOLD BY A SOCIALIST CANDIDATE

Single-Handed He Could Pave the Way in Massachusetts or Any other State for Socialist Supremacy at the Ballot Box.

This article, necessarily brief through limitation of space, is based on the manual of the Massachusetts general court, though its general conclusions may apply to other states.

A governor is the recognized chief executive of a state, and with the advice of the council (numbering eight in Massachusetts, besides the lieutenant-governor), which he has full power to call together, orders and directs the affairs of the commonwealth according to the laws of the land.

The governor, and in his absence the lieutenant-governor, is president of the council, but without vote; and the lieutenant governor is a member of the council except when in the chair.

The governor, with the advice of council, may adjourn or prorogue (extend) the session of the general court to any time desired by the two houses, or call it together earlier than usual, if the welfare of the commonwealth require. In case of disagreement between the two houses regarding the time of adjournment or extension, the governor, with the advice of council, has a right to adjourn or prorogue for ninety days, as the public good may require.

The governor is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and of all military forces of the state by sea and land, and has full power, from time to time, to train, instruct, exercise and govern the militia and navy; and, for special defense and safety, to assemble the inhabitants of the state in martial array, and to lead them against an invading foe, pursuing and destroying by force of arms, or in any fitting way, all or every person and persons attempting the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the commonwealth.

The power of pardoning offenses, and the appointing of all judicial officers, solicitor general, notaries public, and coroners, resides in the governor, with advice of the council.

Major-generals are commissioned by the governor, who also appoints the adjutant general, together with all officers of forts and garrisons and all continental officers in the province of the commonwealth to appoint.

Moneys are issued from the state treasury by warrant under the governor's hand, while various heads of departments must submit to him reports relative to the affairs of the state.

No bill or resolve of the state or house can become a law until it has been laid before the governor for his review. If the governor refuses to sign, the bill or resolve must be reconsidered and approved by a two-thirds yeas and nays vote of both branches of the legislature before it can become a law over the governor's veto. Thus a Socialist governor can often successfully defeat legislation hostile to the true interests of humanity, or in any event could, by veto, emphasize the policy of the Socialists, while at the same time the yeas and nays vote thus required would reveal the identity of those opposed to the principles of collective ownership and operation, resulting in the return of a larger number of Socialists to the general court in the following year.

Since the candidates of the higher official positions usually receive the smallest number of votes in new parties, the election of a Socialist governor would naturally imply the simultaneous election of a Socialist majority in house and senate, as the Socialist sentiment necessary to place a Socialist governor in the chair would, under normal conditions, suffice to guarantee a Socialist supremacy in both branches of the legislature.

Lacking the support of both house and senate, however, and even in the face of an openly hostile council, a Socialist governor could do much to promote the principles of collective ownership and operation. His official position would add weight to his words, he would be much in demand as a speaker, while his public utterances would be not only heard by large assemblies, but would be transmitted by the press to many and distant quarters.

Thus it will be seen that by voice, in public and private, by the pen, by pardoning and appointive power, by veto, in the discussions of the council, and even by the sword (though this latter is hardly in accord with the peaceable principles of Socialism), a Socialist governor could wield great powers and exert a strong influence in the direction of the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth, which must underly true progress in future and contribute to

the higher and nobler interests of humanity.

The preamble of the Massachusetts constitution states that "The end of the institution, maintenance, and administration of government, is to secure the existence of the body politic, to protect it, and to furnish the individuals who compose it with the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights and the blessings of life; and whenever these great objects are not obtained the people have a right to alter the government, and to take measures necessary for their safety, prosperity and happiness."

In the presence of great and growing trusts and corporations, founded upon gigantic aggregations of capital, which on the one hand are elevating the price of commodities and on the other denying that employment to increasing thousands which is necessary to securing the means for purchasing these commodities, it should be patent to the most casual observer that "the power of enjoying in safety and tranquillity their natural rights, and the blessings of life," is not, at present, secured to the individuals who compose society. It was not intended, it is not right, that a few have wrested from the many, by legislative jugglery, the control and assumed ownership of the vast stores of earth's mineral wealth, and are fast doing the same by every necessity and commodity. Justice, no less than mercy, demands such alteration, such reconstruction, of government as shall in reality guarantee and furnish, to every individual, those rights set forth in the declaration of its constitution.

In the organizing of great corporations in private hands, society is invaded by a foe more deadly than an armed host, because more insidious in its methods and clothed with the authority of existing law. The value of organization and co-operation is recognized by every thinking, intelligent man, and it is true that "trusts" and great corporations are the results of genuine growth along scientific lines of organization and co-operation, while, as such, it is neither possible nor desirable to destroy them. They are the improved machines of method, rendering possible the production and distribution of goods with the least expenditure of time and energy. Their danger and injustice lies not in this direction, but in the fact that the resultant blessings go only to the few, while many are cursed by inevitably displaced labor, as industrial organization hastens on. As well talk of destroying locomotives and ocean greyhounds, however, because they have displaced thousands of lumbering coaches and slow-sailing vessels. Rather let these trusts, these great modern, labor-saving, time-saving, product-increasing machines, be owned and operated by society for the good of all, where now they are operated by private individuals for the few who own and control at the expense of the many.

In the building and maintenance of a road by society, the use of that road is forever guaranteed to the weakest individual without regard to compensation, while the cost is exacted from those who are able to give. In the same manner, when society shall maintain, own, and control all the means of production and distribution; when the principle of the road, the public school, the public park, shall be extended to all industrial activities, society will bestow upon every last individual every blessing made possible by the advance of science and the development of organized effort. In return for these great and ever-increasing blessings, society will exact, from every able bodied adult, that proportionate share of labor, mental or physical, necessary to maintain society in a condition to so bless.

When this shall come to pass, as come it must and will, then, and not till then, shall come to pass that form of government described in the immortal words of the immortal Lincoln, "that government of the people, by the people, for the people," and that "shall not perish from the earth."

Such is the end for which every intelligent individual should strive, whether he be a Socialist governor, a business man, or a laborer at the bench.

Winfield P. Porter.

At a banquet at Paris given in honor of the Venezuelan commission, July 4, M. Millerand, the Socialist member of the cabinet, is reported to have spoken with great power and eloquence on the relations between France and the United States. It becomes clearer every day that the real upholders of the French republic at this time are the Socialists.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lead a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscriber a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

THEY CRY PEACE! PEACE! BUT THERE IS NO PEACE

MORE BATTALIONS THE ANSWER

Bellamy's Comparison of the Wars of Conquest and the More Brutal and Continuous War of Capitalism Upon Society.

Two miles from The Hague, in the center of a secluded and pastoral wood, stands a quaint old chateau called the "Huis ten Bosch" (the House in the Woods), in which on the 18th of May last the Peace Convention, which is still in session, assembled. This peace convention was called upon the invitation of the Czar Nicholas II., and meanwhile that ruler over millions of serfs is suppressing the legislative autonomy of the Grand Duchy of Finland because the Finns refused a demand made upon them for an increase in the ratio of conscriptions. "Peace!" cries the Czar, and the answer to his cry for peace comes from the dungeons of the Petropaulovsky Prison and from the frozen wilds of Siberia in the groans and curses of the vanquished in that terrible social war which rages continually in Russia.

Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British delegate, pleads softly in this convention for peace, but when a proposition is made to prohibit privateering in time of war—should war ever break out again—he bitterly opposes it. Strange that at a "peace" conference a delegate should defend the right of the greatest power on the high seas to plunder the merchant vessels of any other people she may be at war with.

"Peace!" pleads the soft-spoken diplomatist and meanwhile the government he represents is hurrying troops to South Africa and battleships to Delagoa Bay in order to crush an independent and pastoral people of South Central Africa—the Boers—who are too honest and primitive to tolerate the intrigues and commercial roguery of a set of English and American capitalists called Uitlanders.

Seth Low, the erstwhile leader of the Citizens' Union party and president of Columbia College, represents the United States in the "peace" conference at a time when the American government is about to increase its standing army to 100,000 men. "Peace! Peace!" pleads the American delegate. Increase the army to 100,000 and annihilate the Filipinos! yell the chauvinists and imperialists. Fill the Filipino archipelago with our battalions. Let them burn, butcher and destroy until there shall be naught but deserted plantations, smoking ruins, and trenches filled with rotting corpses, and then, when the only inhabitants left shall be the bloody-beaked vultures will peace prevail,—the peace that Tacitus referred to when, writing of the stern methods of warfare followed by the Romans, he said: "Facient solitudinem appellatur pacem" ("They make a solitude and call it peace").

But it may be that the Peace Convention is at least in earnest about the desire to promote peaceful relations among the mightier and more capitalistic countries of the world. The United States may with impunity go to war with Spain—a third-rate power—or invade the Philippine archipelago. England may do likewise in the Transvaal. China may be divided up among the great powers of Europe, and third-rate powers like Turkey and Greece may make war upon each other; but probably the time has passed away when great capitalist countries can fight, and it may be that the object of the convention is to attempt some provision to prevent such an occurrence. In past ages war was "the sport of kings," and its victims their subjects; today war is the dread of capitalists, for it would result, if carried on between two great powers, in the destruction of commercial investments and enterprises. The internationality of capitalist interests was exemplified in December, 1895, when President Cleveland's bellicose message concerning Venezuelan affairs agitated the English Stock Exchange slightly, but caused a tremendous panic on Wall street. Even Germany, which until the formation of the empire in 1871, retained many of the features of feudalism, has since then developed so rapidly in the direction of capitalism that her commerce in the world markets competes very successfully in some instances with that of England and the United States. True, there is the War Lord to be reckoned with, but he represents the middle ages and feudalism, while the capitalists represent the present and fraud. The power of the capitalists of today extends alike over labor and the "Lord's anointed," kings and proletarians must bow before the mighty money lords, and when they cry "No war!" then war will cease. Probably, therefore, the peace conference may

(Continued on page 4.)

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JULY 15, 1899.

Miss Vandelia Varnum, whose engagement to Dr. H. W. Thomas, of Chicago, is announced, has a strong leaning toward Socialism.

By the way, up to the hour of going to press, the city of Haverhill has not been destroyed by dynamite and the Socialist mayor has secured the abolition of grade crossings in the city.

Manhood suffrage in Belgium, which will have to be granted if that country is to escape a revolution, means a great increase of the Socialist strength in that country and the early triumph of the Socialist party.

Socialist Deputy Pescetti, who was condemned by an Italian military tribunal to ten years' imprisonment as a ring-leader in the bread riots of 1893, has been retried and was acquitted July 5. The Socialists of Rome greeted his release with a great demonstration.

The deal between the New York Central and Pennsylvania railroads looks very much like an effective move towards the great railroad trust, in which the private masters of the transportation facilities of the country will be masters also of the lives and property of all its people.

The critical dilemma in which the Belgian government has been put by the Socialists, on the demand of the latter for universal suffrage, is still unsolved. The Socialists of Brussels gather every day and sing the "Marseillaise" with such vigor that military bands cannot be heard.

If you are a Socialist, you will give your support, moral and financial, to Socialism, not to fusion, confusion and dampphoolery. And if you are a Socialist you will vote for Socialism and not for "any old thing" so labelled. Socialism is an easy proposition to understand, provided a man honestly wants to understand it.

George Lentz, a young man of 22, who had served in the war with Spain, offering his life for "Old Glory," and was honorably discharged, now lies in a hospital at Boston dying from revolver shots inflicted by his own hand, after vainly trying to find work in "the land of the free and the home of the brave." And this is another exception to the McHanna prosperity contention.

Gen. Funston has written the governor of Kansas intimating as clearly as he dares to under the rules of military etiquette, the intense desire of the Kansas regiments to return to this country from the Philippines. This is only an added evidence of the fact that our soldiers find it distasteful to engage in the unholy war on the liberty-seeking Filipinos. All honor to them!

The case of the successful rehabilitation of the Baltimore & Ohio railroad by public officials is another proof of the "inferiority" of public to private management. This road was nearly ruined by private managers and has been completely restored by managers appointed by the government. But, of course, it will be held that public officials who could save a bankrupt road would fail in the operation of a solvent one.

In an eloquent address before the Free Religious Association at Boston, an abstract of which will be found in this paper, Robert G. Ingersoll touches one of the most pathetic phases of the social problem, but, as usual, misses the solution. Never under the capitalist system of production can woman attain that position where the great agnostic hopes to see her. Economic freedom under Socialism will alone make woman truly independent.

"Duff," the Herald correspondent at Whitman, Mass., propounds the following questions:

What is the best means of raising funds for carrying on propaganda work? What is the best means of reaching the soft side of a hard-shell old party liner, when arguments and Socialist literature fail?

What position should the S. D. P. assume toward the politicians who propose

to wait until our strength as a new party is assured before they seek admission?

The inevitable result of modern progress and invention which the workers have to face is their separation from the means of gaining a livelihood. Thus the era of horseless cabs or automobiles which is approaching inevitably means non-employment for stablemen, drivers, grooms, footmen, harnessmakers, blacksmiths and horseshoers. And the only prospect anywhere offered for emancipation from a system which sacrifices human beings with every material advance it makes is in Socialism.

Another army scandal connected with the present wise and patriotic administration has come to light. A company named the Driggs-Seabury Company, having no plant of their own, but holding a contract to furnish rapid-fire guns to the government, are being permitted to use the government plant of the Frankfort arsenal at Philadelphia. It puts its own employees at the government machinery. Providing machinery for private contractors to run and make money on is so much wiser than anything the Socialists propose that any workingman ought to see it.

Parson Henson will take notice that last Sunday night when Fritz Andrae, late of the United States signal service, flashed a picture of Aguinaldo in his stereopticon lecture on the Philippines in All Souls' church the crowd in attendance rose to its feet and cheered. Mr. Andrae lectured under the auspices of the Central Anti-Imperialist league and the greater number of people present showed their disapproval of the war policy of the United States by thus giving the Philippine leader the applause they denied the picture of Gen. Otis, which was shown on the screen shortly after that of Aguinaldo.

The State Board of Health of Wisconsin has started an agitation in favor of having all milch cows in the state regularly examined for tuberculosis. More Socialism! Doubtless some milkmen will protest that their cows are their own private property, and that they must not be interfered with, just as Pingree's brother exclaimed in his capitalistic wrath that he proposed to see who was boss of the Pingree shoe factory, the owners or the labor unions. But the protests of such people will avail nothing. The public has rights, too, and very important rights they are. The public has a right to protect itself against disease-breeding milk, just as the shoe-makers have some rights over their masters, the profit-skimmers.

The Standard Oil Company is invested with powers that few people have any idea of. Their charter says they may "do all kinds of mining, manufacturing and trading; to transport goods and merchandise by land and water in any manner; to buy, sell, lease and improve lands, build houses, structures, vessels, cars, wharves, docks and piers; to lay and operate pipe lines; to erect and operate telegraph and telephone lines and lines for conducting electricity; to enter into and carry out contracts of every kind pertaining to its business; to acquire, use, sell and grant licenses under patent rights; to purchase or otherwise acquire, hold, sell, assign and transfer shares of capital stock and bonds or other evidence of indebtedness of corporations, and to exercise all the privileges of ownership, including voting upon the stocks so held; to carry on its business and have offices and agencies therefor in all parts of the world, and to hold, purchase, mortgage and convey real estate and personal property."

"What Would Jesus Do?" is the shibboleth of the "United Christian Party" born the other day in Iowa and which aspires to national proportions. It already has a state ticket in the field and tersely states its platform as being the bringing to bear on all measures the query, "What Would Jesus Do?" While this new party may do good in attracting some people into radical fields and radical habits of thought, we will have to await later developments before speaking definitely regarding it. Even Socialists who are not believers in revealed religion have profound admiration for the ideal represented by the character of Jesus, and their main criticism of the church lies in the fact that the majority of those who subscribe themselves Christians make no effort to apply that ideal to their dealings with their fellow men. If this new party succeeds in causing a genuine awakening among its members in this particular, one in which there is no guile, then it will produce Socialists. If it does not, then it will simply add to the long list of fraudulent political parties that have been born in this country.

In Shrewsbury, N. J., last week, plain American Florence Ellsworth Hazard became Princess von Auersperg of Austria, through marriage. She brings the bankrupt prince a dowry of a million. The prince, it seems, after the manner of his class, had become bankrupt through dissipations and was in debt to the tune of a million, so that if he pays his debts he will be under the necessity of contracting them over again to keep living. The new "princess" will, in all

probability, have time to repent her reverence for this representative of the titled scum of the earth, from whom she will only receive the doubtful prestige of a profligate reputation and various unmentionable diseases. It is by just such alliances as this that the stability of the race is lowered, under capitalism, with the children of such a vulgar union under the necessity of bearing the physical results of the father's crimes against decency and national purity. The couple, it is said, will make a European tour, which can now be done inasmuch as the Austrian creditors from whom the prince fled will be put in good humor again, by his lucky catch in the matrimonial market.

THE TRAVELING MAN

Among those who are cudgeling their brains for arguments against trusts and devoting their spare time to the suggesting and formulating of measures calculated, as they hope, to restrict the trusts' powers and restore to them some of their lost opportunities, the commercial travelers just now occupy a prominent place. The commercial travelers represent one of the principal factors of the great waste under the capitalist system. They have, like men employed in productive industries, imagined their places were forever secure, that no changes possible to industrial or distributive evolution could possibly affect them, that come what would the "drummer" will always be essential in commercial operations. So thought the printer who looked complacently on the adoption of machinery in other trades and said: "That affects not ME! My job is secure because the machine that will do MY work is impossible!" The delusion was dissolved while he prided himself in his fancied security. So the "drummer" finds his imagined perpetual "soft snap" eluding his grasp, and like common men must confront the great social problem. It is a lesson that all men will have to learn, that the whole social fabric, all classes of society, are affected by the evolution which is constant and ceaseless from the capitalist system of production to Socialism.

The facts in the "drummers' case are very interesting. Mr. P. E. Dowe, president of the Commercial Travelers' National League, tells us that besides 35,000 men thrown out of employment by the consolidation of industries, 25,000 more will have their pay reduced. He says that it will mean a loss to the men of \$60,000,000 in salaries; to the railroads of \$21,000,000 in tickets and baggage charges, and to the hotels of \$28,000,000.

If the experience the traveling men are getting and the additional "hard knocks" which are certainly in store for them shall have the effect of teaching them the lesson that no class in the community can forever thrive on the labor of "the man with the hoe," the toiler in the mine and the mill, that the life of the parasite must end and the work of the world be shared by all alike, then the best interests of humanity and the progress of the race will not be impaired, although in the process of transition from a lower to a higher order of existence the "drummer" gets his share of enforced leisure.

W. D. HOWELLS, SOCIALIST

The lying press has been exposed over and over, even by the very things it itself prints, yet the people do not learn. Recently an item was extensively copied by the leading papers of the country to the effect that while it was true that William Dean Howells, the novelist, was at one time an advocate of Socialism, he had since gotten new light and was now practically against it. It happens, however, that Mr. Howells is himself unconscious of the strange change of heart, and we can say positively that he was still a Socialist up to July 1, 1899, which ought to be late enough to suit anyone. Not being able to attend the Buffalo convention of—well, of reformers, he wrote a letter to a member of that body saying that if he were able to be present he would lend his voice to several propositions, among which he particularized as to "government ownership of railroads and street trams;" "state, life and fire insurance and pensions for superannuated labor;" "the assumption by the state of all businesses which become monopolies," etc. In the same letter he says: "I believe there is no solution of the trust problem but that indicated above. . . . The fact is, the trust is as legitimate in principle as any other form of competition. It is nothing but the ultimatum of competition, which essentially and necessarily brings oppression and destruction of the weaker competitor. If we like competition, then we have it in its most adorable shape. If we do not like it, there is no escape from it except through the public assumption of the business that has made itself a monopoly. All other talk against trusts is vain."

There is little the matter with William Dean Howells' philosophy.

What can a Socialist do for Socialism? He can lend a hand and a little time every week to increase THE HERALD'S circulation. If every Socialist who is now reading the paper would send in one subscription a week during July he would be surprised at the results. And now is the time to do it, preparatory to 1900. Start on the Fourth of July to do something for Socialism—while the other fellows read the discarded Declaration of Independence.

THE CONFERENCE

On Thursday, July 6, the conference called by the National Executive Board was held at the headquarters, Chicago, and in the course of its deliberations disposed of important matters in behalf of the organization. Those present were Chairman Cox, Secretary Stedman, Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, C. F. Meier, Missouri; Reinhard Greuling, Indiana; A. F. Forman, Wisconsin. The numbered paragraphs are subject to a referendum vote.

(1) On motion it was decided to recommend that the present constitution be continued and remain operative until the next national convention.

(2) On motion it was decided to eliminate from the platform the "Demands for Farmers."

Action on the national convention was taken and recommendations made as follows:

(3) Place for holding convention: Indianapolis, Ind.

(4) Time: First Tuesday in March, 1900, at 10 o'clock a. m.

(5) Basis of representation: Each branch in good standing and organized at least 45 days prior to holding of the convention shall be entitled to one delegate; provided that branches having more than 50 members shall be entitled to an additional representative for each additional 50 members or major portion thereof, and provided further, that no delegate shall represent more than one branch, that of which he is a member.

It was also decided that the application blanks and membership cards be made uniform and supplied exclusively by the National Secretary, on and after September 1, 1899.

On motion the National Secretary was instructed to forward to each branch a printed copy of the financial statement made to the conference.

On propositions 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 a referendum vote will be taken in the branches, members voting "yes" or "no" on each question. It is desirable that this vote be taken as soon as practicable and the result reported to the National Secretary.

GETTING AT THE TRUTH

Last Sunday night at All Souls' church, Chicago, Fritz Andrae, late sergeant of the Eighteenth company, United States volunteer signal corps in the Philippines, lectured on the war. Among other things he said:

"Back in the mountains where you have been told that the natives are savages and are only waiting for an opportunity to attack Aguinaldo, I found the towns populous and civilized. I went into a schoolhouse one day and discovered the schoolmaster teaching the children in Taglo, Spanish and English. They had a lesson in geography. I asked one of the scholars to make a map of the United States. He drew the outline and correctly marked several rivers and located the principal cities."

"Nearly every home has a sewing machine, some of them pianos, all harps—for the natives are great musicians."

Sergeant Andrae further declared that the Filipino character had been misrepresented and that the American soldiers were opposed to the war.

INTEREST IN SOCIALISM

By invitation of Joseph Eveland, president of the Bank of Mayville, Mich., I delivered an address on Socialism in that town on Saturday last. It was an interesting occasion and a new experience. The town has a population of about 1,000, while the attendance was fully 1,500. Mayville is a middle class community, there being few wage-workers. The business men, ministers, lawyers, doctors from all around were there. I was never listened to more attentively nor applauded more heartily than when I denounced capitalism and presented the plain truths of Socialism. While at Mayville I was the guest of Mr. Eveland and made his bank my headquarters and his residence my home. Never have I been treated more kindly than by Mr. Eveland and his lovely family. After my arrival another banker said to Mr. Eveland: "By harboring that man you are kindling a fire that will consume you." The answer was like a flash: "Let her burn." Mr. Eveland and the whole town of Mayville are studying Socialism.

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Chicago, July 10.

The president has under consideration the case of an army captain who, while drunk, out in California, took \$48 of canteen money.

The president's attorney-general also has under consideration the case of Captain Carter, who appropriated \$2,000,000 of public money. This case seems to have got lost in a convenient pigeon-hole.

The poor man who lived for two weeks in New York on an onion a day stolen from a grocer, because he couldn't find work and eat anything better, is at least one exception to the McHanna contention that any man in this country wanting work can get it.

The House of Commons, by 196 votes to 161, decided against an amendment to the London Government Bill by Mr. Courtney, to the effect that no person should be disqualified by sex or marriage for being elected or being an alderman or a councillor.

MUSINGS

V.

Tell your neighbor: "I confidently expect that within the next twenty-five years man will, the law of gravitation notwithstanding, be able to fly." He will believe you. Then tell him that you expect within the same period to see man become human, society socialized, and the globe habitable, your neighbor will shrug his shoulders, shake his head, and put you down as an incurable visionary.

John Robinson is a workingman who lords it over his wife. She, in turn, keeps under their child. The little one is thus a slave to a slave of a slave. Poor little child!

London is the capital of Capital, Berlin the capital of Labor. I do not, however, despair of London. Not at all!

As I mentioned the law of gravitation the thought flashed across my mind that some day a learned professor may come and tell us that it is that law which is answerable for so many good men, things and institutions sinking into the mire, our social (?) system (?) being all right.

When Uncle Sam takes his decennial census next year, he will find out how many people live (or vegetate) under his sway. But he will never know from his enumerators how many broken hearts, crippled lives, wasted hopes and crushed longings there are in connection with the counted people.

I know a Socialist organization whose motto is, or ought to be:

"Proletarians of all countries, good night."

That organization is, of course, thousands of leagues away, somewhere in the land described by Morris as "east of the sun and west of the moon."

There are people, also, far, far away, who offer to the public ideals preserved in vinegar and kept on ice. The ideals are good, but being frozen and sour, they do not commend themselves to stomachs not used to improved pickles, and they—those stomachs—are, unfortunately for some of us, in the majority.

He who cannot give his opponent credit for good intentions; who sees in every one that differs with him either a knave or a fool, is as much of a Socialist as a fried lobster is a living creature.

Crocker is to come back to New York. He has to forsake his English horses in order to attend to his American wolves. The beasts of prey are becoming unruly and the keepers are losing their heads.

Here is a roughly executed little picture in "pen and ink":

With Margaret Haile as the speaker of the evening, a meeting is held in this city on June 10, 1899. A comrade takes the floor and incidentally remarks that he would perhaps do more for the cause (everybody thinks he does enough) were it not for the fact that his activity sometimes provokes his wife's displeasure. Anon a delicately fashioned, sweet little woman gets up, and in tones clear and convincing declares that her husband was right as regards the past, but since she has heard Mrs. Haile that evening she would henceforth be to him a help-mate in the cause, as well as in life, or words to that effect. Big tears are seen in many eyes and every one looks as if he or she would not forget that serene and beautiful minute in a hurry.

The true propaganda of Socialism, like charity, begins at home.

Lassalle compelled the admiration of Bismarck. It was something like Jove's tribute to Prometheus Unbound, when the light had been spread, the fury of the Thunderer notwithstanding.

M. Winchevsky.

The Herald in Bundles

An excellent way for Socialists to make more Socialists and increase The Herald's circulation, is to order the paper in bundles for a few weeks. Stamp your individual name or name and location of your Branch on each copy and sell them for 1 cent or give them away. Then when the paper has been read and the people become familiar with the cause it represents, arrange for a thorough house to house canvass and take subscriptions.

The removal of The Herald to headquarters at Chicago enables us to supply it for propaganda purposes at a lower rate than heretofore. In many places hundreds of copies can be sold weekly at 1 cent each, if the right persons take hold and push it at all public gatherings. The following will be the prices for

THE HERALD IN BUNDLES.

25 copies	\$.20
50 copies35
100 copies65
200 copies	1.20

It must be understood that this offer is for bundle orders mailed to one address only. Send orders to

THEODORE DEBS,
126 Washington St., Chicago.

AMONG THE BRANCHES

BRANCH DIRECTORY.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 25c per month.

COLORADO.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1755 California street, Denver, Colo., 5 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Ida Mercer, Secretary, 1755 Washington street.

CONNECTICUT.

Branch 3 (Conn.) meets 1st and 3rd Tuesday in the month, at 233 Cedar street, at 8 p. m. Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 155 Frank street.

ILLINOIS.

Branch 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening, Thomas Klrwin, Secretary, 234 Wentworth ave.

Branch 2, Chicago, Ill., Bohemian, meets 2d and 4th Saturday evenings at Nagel's Hall, 335 Blue Island ave. Secretary, Fred Jonas, 687 Center ave.

Branch 3, Chicago, Ill., meets 1st and 3d Sunday afternoon of each month at Bohemian American School Lad Karel, cor. 19th and Leavitt sts. Secretary, Frank Ort, 885 W. 18th st.

Branch 6, Chicago, Ill., German, meets 1st and 3d Monday at 8 p. m. at 635 Blue Island ave.

INDIANA.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon of each month at Reicher's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis.

MARYLAND.

Branch No. 1, Maryland, meets every Sunday at 8 p. m. at Carpenter's Hall, 506 E. Baltimore street. Public invited.

Branch No. 2, Baltimore, Md., meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 211 W. German St. Secretary, Frank Marek, 1493 N. Gay St.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Branch 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Monday of each month at Springfield Turner Hall. Organizer, H. Schlichting, 20 James street.

Branch 5, Lynn, Mass., permanent headquarters 22 Summer St., near Market St., business meeting every Monday night at 7:30 p. m. Open house. Public invited. E. W. Timson, 23 Albany street, St. Louis.

Branch No. 9, Brockton, meets the 1st and 3rd Tuesday of each month for business, in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 32 W. Elm street.

Branch 15, Massachusetts-East Boston-meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 99 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 151 Webster st.

Branch No. 9, Massachusetts, Brockton-meets first and third Tuesday each month for business, in Cutler's Hall, Clark's Block, cor. Main and Center streets. Secretary, Frank S. Walsh, No. 32 W. Elm street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m. at 100 Washington street, Boston. All communications and money intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the Secretary, Margaret Hall, 6 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

MISSOURI.

St. Louis headquarters-Room 7, 22 No. Fourth St. Address all communications to E. Val. Putnam, Secretary. For information concerning ward branches inquire at the above address.

St. Louis Central Branch, composed of all members in the city, meets every 3rd Sunday afternoon, 2 p. m., at Aschenbroedel Hall, 64 Marshall St. Lecture and general discussion at every meeting. Public invited.

Branch 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1200 E. Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1230 W. 9th street, Sec.

NEW YORK.

Branch 10 (4th Ass'n Dist., N. Y.), meets every 1st and 3rd Wednesday of the month, at the rooms of The Voice of Labor, 107 Henry St. Jacob Panken, 141 E. Broadway, Org.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets every 1st and 3rd Thursday at 115 Clinton st. Secretary, A. Guyer, 163 Suffolk st.

Branch 2, New York (4th Assembly District) meets every 2nd and 4th Monday of the month at 24 E. 4th st. L. Uncke, 239 E. 5th st., Sec.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every Sunday and fourth Friday of each month at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," at 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, Secretary, 321 Madison street.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y., Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 251 Rutledge street, meets every 3d Thursday at 8:15 sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and cooperate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 251 Rutledge St., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York (25 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3rd Thursday of each month at Paulhaber's Hall, 1551 Second avenue, New York City. Secretary, R. Hoppe, 328 E. 8th street.

The City Central Agitation Committee of Greater New York and vicinity meets second and fourth Saturdays of each month at 107 Forsyth street, in the Social Democratic League rooms. Elizabeth H. Thomas, 257 Division St., secretary.

OHIO.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Ohlens's Hall, 65 York street, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

PENNSYLVANIA.

Branch 2, Erie, Pa., meets every Sunday afternoon at K. F. Hall, 716 State street. Chairman, Chas. Heydrick; Secretary, Geo. B. Laird, 25 W. 5th street.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m. at the Hall, 20th and Josephine sts. President, W. Bohm, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 213 Jane st.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Friday at 614 South Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

WISCONSIN.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Tuesday evening of the month at the Ethical Society Building, 538 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Edward Tuttle, chairman; Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch 3, Sheboygan, Wis., meets every fourth Thursday of the month at Gustav Burgard's Hall on Pennsylvania avenue. R. Schoen, 45 1/2th street, secretary-treasurer.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Morschel, Secretary, 712 Twenty-third.

Branch 5, Milwaukee, meets every fourth Friday of the month at R. Sigel's Hall, S. E. corner Orchard street and 9th avenue. Secretary, Fred Brockhausen, 781 Windlake avenue.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of each month at John Koepfer hall, 717 Center street, at 8 p. m. Peter Koepfer, secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets on the first Monday of each month at 8 p. m. sharp at No. 615 East Water street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary; John Doerfler, Treasurer.

Social Democratic Picnic

Our Bohemian comrades in Chicago are rejoicing, and we all rejoice with them, over the successful results of their picnic at Zastera's garden, Sunday, July 9. The weather was delightful and the day's outing proved beneficial, not only in contributing financial aid to their plans for the propaganda of Socialism, but also in administering to the health of all who attended. Of speechmaking there was none, but of funmaking and pleasant social intercourse there was an abundance and everybody enjoyed the occasion thoroughly. One of the incidents of the day, which ought not to pass unnoticed, was the loss during one of the dances of a diamond from an engagement ring by a young lady present. There was an excited search for the diamond, which was found and returned without reward, much to the relief of the troubled owner.

Branch Notes

Miss Lizzie Harlow will be in Maine the first ten days of September to speak for the party.

A demand for an organizer comes from Maine and before long we will have several branches in that state.

The organization of bicycle clubs in connection with the branches is meeting with much popular favor in Massachusetts.

Six new district organizers have been chosen for the Brockton district. They are: C. H. Coulter, C. S. Beals, J. Caldwell, J. Taber, Rev. S. L. Beals and C. B. Malpas.

The bicycle club connected with the branches at Brockton, Mass., is receiving a large number of new members and will adopt a uniform.

At the beginning of a new quarter, although it falls in July and the weather is hot, it is the duty of members to attend their Branch meetings and discharge their duty to the organization.

Where it is practicable the branches would make a big hit by organizing brass bands. If this cannot be done, a vocal quartet or chorus would be found very attractive and helpful in the propaganda.

Our St. Louis comrades, always active and never tiring, are taking a fresh start in the northern wards of the city, aided by the new city secretary, Com. Putnam, and Coms. Blumenthal, Erd and Steigewalt in their respective wards.

On the last Sunday in June Comrade F. O. McCartney preached his last and farewell sermon to the congregation at Rockland, Mass., and will now devote his energies to delivering the new gospel, the message of Social Democracy to the people.

There is a movement in Massachusetts in favor of Comrade F. O. McCartney for state organizer. Comrade F. G. R. Gordon is wanted for organizer in New York, and Comrade G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis, may go to Wisconsin in the same capacity. Three good men in the right places.

The local branches of Brockton have decided that no candidate shall be allowed to receive an endorsement of their candidacy from any other political organization. They will be candidates pure and simple of the Social Democratic party, which will not fuse with any other party. This is in accordance with the general rule among branches of the party.

How the times do change, to be sure, and newspapers with them! Here is a clipping from the Brockton (Mass.) Enterprise: "Mayor Chase, of Haverhill, who addressed the Socialists and many others in this city Friday evening, is a good looking man, and those who went expecting to see a man with the face of an anarchist, or as anarchists are supposed to look, were surprised to see a good looking gentleman, who appealed to their reasoning faculties rather than their prejudices or their passions."

The banner of Socialism has been unfurled in Michigan by the organization of a strong branch of the Social Democratic party at Battle Creek, which by reason of its active and intelligent character membership is certain to become the strong link in a chain of branches extending throughout the state. The addition of this branch to our ranks is largely due to the efforts of Comrade Henry Ramsay, who has associated together an earnest and devoted body of men for the cause which deserves and soon will have an aggressive branch in every important town in the state.

St. Louis

The S. D. P. branches of the North St. Louis wards will hold a combined agitation meeting Wednesday evening, July 19, at Liederkranz Hall, 2412 North Fourteenth street. There will be speeches in English and German by Comrades Hoehn, Putnam and others. The members of the North St. Louis branches and also those of the South Side, and all Social Democrats not connected with branches are requested to attend and bring along their unconverted friends. H. J. Steigewalt.

East Bridgewater, Mass.

Perhaps the members think it is about time to hear from the East Bridgewater Branch. We have been working quietly but steadily. We have not said much, but steady work has told.

We wanted the people to know that there was a branch in East Bridgewater. We decided that we must stir them up, and I think I may say without the smallest reservation that we succeeded. The meeting was held in the open air on the common. The Brockton band marched from the center of the town to the common. Although there were a number who were unable to come, still they did nobly.

Comrade Chase delivered an able argument on "Machinery and Its Effects." I was especially gratified at the convinc-

ing way in which he worked out his points. Those who were after information got it. There was no evading the question. After the lecture was over the meeting was thrown open to debate. Quite a number of questions were fired at the speaker, which, I think, were answered satisfactorily to the questioners. The road outside was fairly black with people. All estimates I have heard place the number at the least five hundred. On every side I have heard congratulatory reports. Several of the citizens took away application blanks, and we hope to receive them filled out at an early date.

We are going to devote the summer to quiet work among the townspeople, and expect by fall to have a considerable increase in our membership. If we do we shall go into the campaign heartily, and I think with great success.

V. T. Lathbury.

Brockton, Mass.

Branch 9 of Brockton has neither been dead nor sleeping, but engaged in purely local work, which we did not deem of general interest enough to occupy the valuable space of The Herald.

But now that we have started in on our public meetings again, we will keep the comrades informed as to our doings. Since last I wrote we have organized a hustling branch at East Bridgewater; have organized a bicycle club; have organized more thoroughly our city committee, and made our band an assured success. We have also held a number of social gatherings, at which we have made many converts, and expect to hold many more.

We have started on our check lists and have already a goodly number of names with our mark against them.

We have engaged a room for headquarters and will certainly hatch some consternation for the politicians in it between now and election. Our city committee meets in it Monday nights, our branch Tuesday nights, our bicycle club Thursday nights, and our band rehearses Friday nights; so you see if a comrade attends all the meetings (which many of them do), he is fairly busy.

And now having given a synopsis of our doings since my last, I will try and describe the greatest success we have yet attained.

When we discontinued our indoor meetings, we got an idea that it would be a good scheme to get permission to use Perkins Park, a small public park on Main street, in this city, to hold our meetings in, and after a while we secured the necessary permission, and the first meeting was held last Friday evening, June 30, with Comrade Mayor Chase as speaker. We have held many successful meetings in the past, but never approached the grand results of that meeting. Three thousand people stood for nearly an hour while the band rendered its selections, and then stood for over an hour and listened to Comrade Chase. We had expected that the larger part of the crowd would leave after hearing the band, but they didn't. They all stayed and demonstrated very plainly that they were fully in sympathy with all that the speaker said.

That Comrade Chase made a great impression on that crowd no one will deny, and the old party politicians are puzzling their brains over the following example in mental arithmetic:

If John C. Chase talks to 3,000 people and uses arguments that cannot be refuted, and other speakers every two weeks, and later on every week, use arguments equally as good to crowds anywhere near as large, what will the resulting number of votes be at the next election?

And they are trying mighty hard to get some Social Democrat to answer it for them, but we are not saying a word.

Just a word for the band. These comrades have put in a lot of hard work, and this, their first, concert was a great success and surprised even their own comrades. So we are patting each other on the back and looking forward to the next meeting, which will be held Friday evening, July 14, with Comrade F. O. McCartney, of Rockland, as the speaker.

There will be lots of news from Brockton from now on, and I shall keep it hot as long as the editor permits.

July 7, 1899. Char. H. Coulter.

The police in New York city made an attempt to stop an outdoor meeting, but Comrade Joseph Barondess stepped in between free speech and its would-be suppressors, and the comrades are assured of no further interference. The meetings are usually well attended and provocative of intelligent discussion.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Monte Carlo	\$ 5.00
Appeal to Reason	1.00
P. P. Ayer	.25
M. Josephson	.20
S. Kaliber	1.00
Two Friends, Lynn, Mass.	1.25
Geo. Dannmann	5.00
Robt. Meister	3.00
Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, Wis.	1.00
Joseph Rosch	.25
K. Ramo	1.00
Hauptman	1.00
N. Jayson	1.00
Book Binder	.50
Farber	.50
W. C. Burk	.50
F. J. Miller	.50
Arnold Zander	.75
Julius Rosenberg	.50
Jan. Oseal	.15
T. H. Gibbs	.10
"Joe. Conway"	.25

An Important Call

We have noted the article in the issue of the German organ of the Social Democratic party headed, "On the German Socialists in America," and signed by John C. Chase. As a result of that article we have come together to organize a branch in the 20th assembly district in the city of Brooklyn.

On Friday, July 14, we will definitely organize a branch of the S. D. P. at 134 Wyckoff avenue. We invite every progressive and honest workman, every Socialist that is dissatisfied with the tactics of the Socialist Labor party. We will guarantee you that we will not tolerate any rulers nor dictators in our midst. We will follow the lines of the true democratic principle and will support the trades union movement in every way. But let this branch be not only a German branch, but one to which every honest toiler who is a Socialist, no matter where his cradle was rocked, may be welcome. We call on all those living in the 18th, 27th, 26th and 28th wards and those in Queens county to come and meet us at the above address. We will meet every Friday evening. We shall never rest until we have made a thorough success of the movement we have undertaken.

Bear in mind the words of Karl Marx, "Workmen of all countries unite." We are sincerely yours.

Aug. J. Joos,
John Lang,
Dietrich Steffen,
Henry J. Lang,
John Schaible,
C. Horn.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

MERLIN'S MIXTURE

The "glorious Fourth" has passed off, and the usual blaze of fireworks and tornado of sound.

The average number of houses and stores have been kindled into flame by the spark of patriotic enthusiasm, plus a smouldering firecracker.

The usual amount of broken fingers, bruised faces and busted ears have been offered as sacrifice upon the altar of the Jingo god.

The political priesthood of the temple of Republican prosperity have prostrated themselves in public places, with their faces toward the Philippino east, and offered loud thanksgiving to the god of Mammon, whom they serve.

And the American people have wakened up from the delirious dreams of the glorious Fourth to the grim realities of the inglorious fifth!

The men who vowed undying love and eternal loyalty to their country over their cups at the corner bar have crawled out of bed, snarled at their wives, kicked at their children, and gone out to earn a freeman's wage of \$1.10 a day.

The horses in the fire stations are leaning against the sides of their stalls and meditating between chews upon how many ages must elapse before irrational men shall evolve into sensible horses. The miners of the West foolishly forget that the Fourth is a memory of the past, not a fact of the present, and are trying to live freemen's lives, without making their wills beforehand.

And around Bunker Hill monument are scattered the shattered fragments of the Fourth's firecrackers, fit symbols of the American liberties whose birth we have celebrated.

But now that the patriotic clamor has died away, it is our duty to see how far the present industrial conditions warrant such extravagant expenditure of power and powder.

On the original Fourth the American people had grit enough to resist a tax on tea, and to sturdily assert the right, but today there is not an article of use that is not taxed for the benefit of an oppressing class.

Now that the din of celebration has died away, we can hear the same pitiful wail of sorrow rising from the seething slums of our cities.

Now that the blaze of exploding fireworks has disappeared, our eyes once more get accustomed to the factory twilight and the cellar midnight in which some of our American citizens spend their days and nights.

If only the energy expended on the Fourth of July by the working class of this country were used to right advantage, we should have something to celebrate.

If every workingman would blow his own horn as vigorously in November as he does in July, there might be some reason in his patriotic insanity.

If the masses would cast more votes for themselves and less firecrackers at others, we might have such conditions as would make every day glorious by making every man free.

If ever, in the course of scientific evolution, men should invent a method of making "liquid noise," on the same principle as liquid air, enough power will be stored up on the Fourth to run the factories of the nations the rest of the year. Until that time, however, there is no

virtue in noise, no sense in mere sound, and no economic advantage in the conjunction of firecrackers and fools.

In a recent interview, Mark Hanna, the high priest of the Republican priesthood already mentioned, stated to an English reporter that there was not a single unemployed man in America who could not get work if he wanted it.

A blind man could see that the fellow lies in saying it. Statistics have supplied a million-voiced declaration to the contrary.

Anyone who would make so grossly false and misleading a statement is an eligible candidate for either a lunatic asylum or a state prison.

He is either a fool in being blind to common facts, or he is a knave in so misstating them.

It's nothing but a lie, of course, but it is significant when it is uttered by the American king-maker, the man who bought up a presidency, and who holds his presidential puppet firmly under his thumb.

It is to such men as these that we have given supreme power, and entrusted the guidance of the American ship of state.

The recent convention held in Buffalo should convince working people that reliance on "reformers" is of little avail, and that the savior of a workingman must be that workingman himself.

Skilled as these reformers were in the special reforms that constituted their peculiar hobbies, most of them seemed totally ignorant of the main issue.

They were like a lot of quack doctors who assembled at the house of a sick man, and who, after prescribing their various quack remedies, find out that the man has a broken leg.

The social question today is a question of social amputation, when the capitalistic limb of society has to be cut off.

It is no time now to make compromises, to equivocate with facts, to dodge the inevitable.

The time has come when we must recognize the absolute necessity of waging a war to the death with the principle and practice of capitalism.

The Social Democracy is an organization formed of clear-cut Socialists, asking no quarter, and giving none, in the fight for the co-operative commonwealth. Merlin.

The Balance of Trade

From an address by Samuel M. Jones, of Springfield, Mass., before the Central Labor Union of that city, on the "Balance of Trade," the following extract is taken:

If I manufacture a line of goods myself, without the aid of hired help, and sell them to the public, and find at the end of the year that, after paying all my living expenses, and all other bills, I have \$1,000 left, that \$1,000 is my balance of trade for the year.

Now, if the next year I hire a man to help me and pay him, say, \$1.50 per day, and at the end of the year find my balance of trade to be \$2,000, I have reason to rejoice.

I can now afford a machine which will enable me to dispense with the hired man and put in his place a boy, to whom I pay \$4 per week. And the third year my balance of trade is \$4,000, because I not only pay less in wages, but the boy and machine can produce much more than the man could before, without the aid of the machine.

The man's service the second year enabled me to amass sufficient capital so that I could dispense with his services the third year, and hire in his place his son (who ought to be in school) at less than half the man's wages.

Now, while I am able and willing to rejoice at my handsome balance of trade—how about the man? and how about the boy?

This same line of reasoning holds good if I employ 1,000 men instead of one man or one boy.

I have the balance of trade, which I use, not to increase wages, but to enable me to dispense with the services of part of those I now hire. Is my balance of trade a blessing to these wage-earners? Is it used for their benefit, or is it used to their disadvantage?

I sell part of my goods at home, that is, in this country, and send a part to some foreign country. My neighbor, B, another capitalist, does the same, and so do capitalists C and D, and so on down to Z. I also buy certain goods abroad, as do B, C, D—to Z, also. The sum total of all that the capitalists send abroad constitutes our export trade. The sum total of all we buy abroad and fetch home constitutes our import trade, and the difference between the two is what is called the balance of trade of the country.

Now, as I have shown, each individual capitalist uses his individual balance of trade for his own advantage and against the interests of the wage-earners. Then the sum total of all the capitalists will use the sum total of their balances of trade, that is, the balance of trade of the nation, against the interests of all the wage-earners of the nation.

Bjornsen has written an encouraging letter to the advanced women of Austria. "You have come to see," he says, "that the fate of the children depends upon social conditions, that your work will be fruitless until you can alter those conditions."

